"Now let us see how the medicine-man proceeds when he has to cure a patient suffering from an evil sent by other sorcerers.

In order to be able to operate with success the medicine-man has to prepare himself in a certain way, the preparation as usual chiefly consisting in fasting. The treatment of the sick person takes place in the evening, after sunset. Only in the morning of the same day can the medicine-man take some food and drink manioc-beer. After noon he eats nothing, but instead of food takes tobacco water in great quantities through the nose. Pork is supposed to be particularly harmful to him, and he carefully avoids not only eating but even smelling it. If he eats pork before the operation he will awake sick the following morning. In the evening the medicine-man has to drink natéma which has meanwhile been prepared in the patient's house. A pot containing pieces of the crushed stem of the liana Banisteria caapi as well as of another liana called iáhi has been boiling the whole day on a slow fire, so that the main part of the water has gradually evaporated, only a small but exceedingly concentrated quantity being left. This is the natéma medicine.

As soon as darkness sets in, the medicine-man goes to the house of the patient taking with him the magical bag containing his namúra as well as a bundle of certain magical leaves called shingi-shingu, which he makes use of when treating the patient. His face is generally painted black with genipa. Tobacco water has previously been prepared in

a pot by boiling the leaves, and a large pininga (clay dish) is now filled with this decoction. As soon as everything is ready all lights and fires in the house are put out, for the medicine-man must operate in complete darkness. He begins his treatment by taking the pininga with the tobacco water and chanting over it a long conjuration. The spirit of tobacco (tsangu maso mari) is summoned to take possession [414] of the medicine-man and to help him to find out the origin and nature of the evil troubling the patient. The invocation being finished he drinks some tobacco water, without emptying the dish. Thereupon he fills a small cup with natéma and empties its contents at a draught. Then the doctor leans over the patient who has been stretched out upon a bench in the middle of the house, and starts to sing his conjurations. After a while, during his chants and other actions with the patient, he takes a second dose of natéma, sometimes with some more tobacco water. This is repeated a third, sometimes a fourth time, according as it is found necessary. The principal thing is that the medicine-man gets intoxicated (nambikma), for otherwise he cannot conjure forth the demons and his whole treatment is of no avail. This state of mind, however, must not be provoked suddenly and all at once, but gradually, in order to avoid too violent outbursts of spiritual ecstasy; that is the reason why the medicines are only taken in small doses.

In his conjuration the medicine-man invokes all those demons who are suspected of having sent the evil. Since the sorcerers, when bewitching people, preferably avail

themselves of certain demoniacal agents of the animal world, in which they hide their disease and death-bringing tunchi, we understand why most of the demons invoked are animals, birds, reptiles and even insects. It is a leading principle in the Indian conjurations that the remedy must be sought where the evil has its origin, in other words, that the same spirits that have caused the illness must also be compelled to cure it.

To conjure illnesses caused by sorcery is called tsinságrinyu kantámsama, or kantamára umbuártinyu, 'to cure sickness by singing'. The stem-word for tsinságrinyu is tsinsáka, 'arrow'. Kantámsama (kantamára), again, means 'to conjure by singing'.

The medicine-man sends the conjuring words through his closed hand, holding it over that particular part of the patient's body which is the seat of the evil. The following conjuration is typical:

We, we, we, wa, wa,
'I, I myself (conjure you demons),
ámaru, tunchiru,
the amarun (water boa), possessing the arrow,
tsungiru, tsungiru,
and the tsungi, the tsungi,
aeintsuka, [415]
you that were once men,

tsinserére natimieru,
and whose 'arrows' I have seen when intoxicated by natéma,
tukki tsinságrinyu,
you that are full of arrows;
yawara tsinsagri
the tiger, sending the arrow,
husa, husa, husaru,
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
apu, apupa,
The dolphin, the dolphin,
tsinsagri, tsinsagri
sending arrows, sending arrows,
Kaspa tsinsagri
the ray, sending arrows,
husa, husa, husaru
(may you come) to draw out the arrow!
tsangu, tsangu, tsangudu,
Tobacco, tobacco
muku, muku, mukuna.

I am blowing. I am blowing!
avanketná, avanketná.
I will take out the arrow (fixed into your body
like a hook),
ayámsatná, ayámsatná
in order that you may get relief!'. --
and so forth.
[416]
....

The medicine-man always begins his conjurations, of whatever kind they may be, by repeating the word, we, we. 'I, I myself', thus emphasising his own personality and the will power by which he masters the spirit world. Amárun is the Quichua wordfor the great water boa (Eunectes murinus), called pangi in the Jibaro language. In their conjurations and incantations the Jibaros sometimes make use of Quichua words which are, as it were, international among the Indians of Eastern Ecuador. The water boa, as we have seen before, is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, and is therefore naturally invoked first. It is the same with his 'brother' tsungi, another water monster of obscure origin but equally important as an author of witchcraft. Other demons of the animal world that frequently send the fatal 'arrow' are the tiger (yawára), the river dolphin (apupa), which is supposed to bewitch people when it emerges to the surface of

the water to breathe, and the ray (kaspa) which emits an 'arrow' with its poisonous death-bringing sting. That the spirit of tobacco (tsangu) is invoked is easy to understand since it is to a great extent by its aid that the medicine-man succeeds in overcoming the evil troubling the patient. --Again, avanketná is the same as avankatukáhei, 'to disengage a fish from the hook', with which it has been caught. In the same way the conjurer will disengage the patient from the arrow which has been fixed into his body. Ayamsatná is the same as ayámsatahei, 'to rest', 'to get relief'.

The spirits just mentioned of course are not the only ones invoked by the Jibaro medicine-men. A number of other demons also figure in their conjurations, most of these being animals, birds, or insects, some even local nature spirits. As to carnivorous beasts, not only the common ounce (Felix onca) but all animals of the feline family--for instance the great black jaguar (soacha), the puma (Felix concolor), and different kinds of tiger cats--may serve as agents of sorcerers and are therefore invoked by the medicine-men. The tsingu-tsangu yawá, is probably only a mythical beast: 'a tiger-like animal which lives in the trees'. Of water monsters, in addition to those already mentioned, the caiman (kanyátsa) and the great water otter (wangánimi) are of special importance. Birds, as we know, frequently carry the 'arrow' and are therefore [417] invoked. Among these the tucan (tsukánga or kuánga), the yellow and the red macaw (yambúna, takúmbi) the mango (chui), and the cock-of-the-rock (sumga)

are the most important. It is a curious fact that most of the animal and bird demons which are thus believed to send disease and invoked by the medicine-men also figure among the arútama, who were originally ancestral spirits. --Insects possessing natural 'arrows' --stings etc, --may also be invoked by the medicine-men. Among these there is a big hairy larva called wambángu which, when caught with the fingers, is able to inflict a stinging pain and is therefore sometimes used by the sorcerers for bewitching purposes. --Again, of nature spirits the demons of the hills are especially invoked (neindya, neindya, winiti)'demons of the hills, may you come (to draw out the arrows you have sent'!) The high hills and cordilleras, as we know, are believed to be inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers.

Apart from the conjuration itself, there are certain interesting operations with the patient to which we must direct attention. I have already mentioned the bundle of leaves called shingishingu, which forms part of the magical equipment of the medicine-man, and which is used as a sort of rattle. The leaves, those of a special plant credited with mysterious properties, terminate in a long point. These points form the most essential part of the whole thing, as far as in them the soul of the plant (wakáni) and its magic power is concentrated. The points are called inéi, i.e. 'tongues', and they are supposed to be identical with the tongue of the sorcerer, who is said to give it this peculiar

pointed form--more or less like a snake's tongue--at the moment when he shoots off his 'arrow' (tunchi) against an enemy. The points of the leaves, therefore, are at the same time identical with the tunchi itself, the mysterious object which it is the medicine-man's task to extract from the [418] body of the patient. These ideas fully explain the importance attached to the shingi-shingu rattle. During his operations the medicine-man from time to time rises and shakes the rattle over the patient and particularly over that part of his body where the evil is, just as if he were fanning him with a fan. This procedure is repeated several times, alternately with other operations. Sometimes the medicine-man interrupts his conjurations to start another treatment. From his magical bag he takes out one of the white stones (kaya wincha), and after having filled his mouth full of tobacco water he puts the stone into his mouth and then rubs the bad spot with it. By this treatment he is supposed to prepare that spot favourably for extracting the tunchi. Then he leans down over it, blows and spits upon it and ultimately, having again filled his mouth with tobacco water, starts to suck it vigorously. After some moments he pretends to extract something from the body and holds up a small object which in the darkness cannot be clearly perceived. 'I have found the arrow', he says to the bystanders, 'it is a chonta thorn', (or a pebble, a worm, the hair of a paca, etc.). 'But this', he generally adds, 'is not the only arrow that there is in his body. There are several of them, but I will gradually draw them all out'.

In this way the medicine-man continues his operations for a long while, often for several hours, alternately chanting his conjurations and invoking the demons, shaking the shingi-shingu rattle, spitting and blowing, rubbing the bad spot with his namúra, etc. He frequently takes tobacco water and also repeatedly drinks a small quantity of natema, thus gradually working himself into a state of ecstasy, so that ultimately he starts to dance round the patient, stamping on the ground and chanting in a loud voice. This is the highest degree of possession, the state in which the medicine-man 'sees' the illness and discovers its causes. About midnight he interrupts his operations for that night, but since there is generally more than one arrow in the patient's body to be extracted, the treatment is in most cases continued for several successive nights.

In the narcotic sleep produced by the natéma and the tobacco water the medicine-man will afterwards find out the ultimate origin of the sickness, the evil sorcerer who has sent the tunchi. The author of the trouble having thus been discovered, the medicine-man may try to send the tunchi back to him, and the relatives of the patient may decide to wreak vengeance upon him. Generally, however, vengeance is not [419] decided upon until one or several deaths through sorcery have taken place within a family."

1: Karsten--419 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 755, 791 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a medicine-man who cures people bewitched by chunta-throwing sorcerers is called hámbic runa or only hámbic, 'a man curing by medicines', the word hámbic being derived from hambi, 'medicine'. When preparing for his operations, which take place at night, the medicine-man has to fast the same day, taking only tobacco water through the mouth and the nose, just as is customary among the Jibaros. In the evening he takes aya huasca in repeated doses before and during his operations. The latter are of much the same kind as among the Jibaros. However, the demons invoked in the conjurations of the Canelos medicine-men are to some extent different from those of the Jibaros, corresponding to the particular ideas held by the former Indians as to the spirits that send sickness. These spirits have been mentioned before in connection with the religious beliefs of the Canelos Indians. Only the great water serpent, amárun supai, and the tiger, puma supai, hold equal positions in the superstition of both peoples, each of them being also regarded by the Canelos Indians as an incarnation of the soul of a wizard and consequently as an author of witchcraft. The medicine-man moreover, like the wishinyu of the Jibaros, makes use of white stones and other magical objects for curing the patient, as well as of the rattle of leaves, which at Canelos is called ilupánga."

"Besides the ordinary cases of witchcraft, which can only be cured by a medicine-man, there is one more evil the treatment of which is of particular interest, namely, snake-bite. As mentioned before, venomous snakes which attack and harm people are generally looked upon as tunchima, that is, as temporary reincarnations of the souls of evil sorcerers. With the snake's poison the 'arrow' penetrates the body of the Indian bitten by it. Where such an idea prevails, it is clear that only a man initiated in the magic art can properly treat the person bitten. However, among the Jibaros the person most competent to cure a snake's bite is not the ordinary medicine-man, but a man who has himself once been bitten by a venomous snake and survived. Such an Indian is consedered to be 'hardened' against snakes and therefore to possess special qualifications for curing other men attacked by the demoniacal reptiles.

As soon as an Indian has been bitten by a snake, therefore, a man [420] is summoned, if possible, who has himself once been cured of the consequences of a snake-bite. Special precautions are taken on such occasions. No strange person, not even any of the nearest relatives of the patient, is allowed to see the little wound. A secret foe may look upon it with an evil eye and send his 'arrow' into it, with the consequence that all sorts of dangerous complications ensue. The Jibaros generally have recourse to this explanation when a snake-bite which, perhaps, in the beginning seemed slight suddenly gives rise to a serious illness and causes the patient's death. Hence no one

but the curer is allowed to treat the sufferer, and the cure takes place, not in the house, but outside in the forest, whither the 'doctor' cautiously leads the person bitten by the snake. In the forest he has been attacked by the evil demon, in the forest, therefore, the same demon must be conjured and the effects of his attack neutralized. A small provisional shelter is made, and the curer stays there alone with the patient during the whole time that he is treating him. The treatment consists in conjurations and operations of much the same kind as those practised by the ordinary medicine-men. The medicine mostly employed is juice of tobacco. The doctor repeatedly takes the medicine into his mouth and thereupon vigorously sucks the wound caused by the snake. He sings certain incantations, summoning the demon operating in the venomous snake.

Besides the juice of tobacco, which may in itself have beneficial effects, certain other natural medicines are used against snake-bite. The most common of these is the one prepared from a plant called piri-piri. Of this gramineous plant there are five kinds which differ from each other in the size of the leaves. The kind used against the poison of snakes is called napi piripiri (snake's piripiri). The tubers of the plant are mashed in a quantity of cold water, and the little wound is carefully washed with the solution. The patient also has to drink the same medicine. Another kind of remedy is a clyster prepared from the exceedingly strong Indian pepper (Capsicum). A quantity of the pepper is dissolved in water and the solution is squirted into the rectum through

the hollow stem of the carrot plant (Daucus carota). A third remedy used in such cases is obtained from the animal kingdom. There is a sort of crab, living in fresh water, which is called uriki by the Jibaros. The whole animal is crushed with a club and boiled in water, and the patient takes the decoction as a medicine. It is also good for him to eat the animal itself.

Although all these medicines may in themselves have beneficial [421] effects, they are used by the Indians chiefly because of the magical or supernatural properties they are supposed to possess. The Indians believe that by using them they are able to drive out the evil demon from the patient's body.

The Indians frequently have recourse to body-painting as a prophylactic. That even snake-bite is sometimes cured by magical body-painting is shown by the following instance. An Indian on the Upano was bitten by a comparatively harmless snake. He soon recovered, but for several days afterwards wandered about with black snake-like rings painted round the thighs and the body with genipa. These rings according to his own explanation represented the snake that had bitten him, and were believed to neutralize the harmful effects of the bite."

1: Karsten--421-422 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 755, 825 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS a person is cured of the consequences of a snake-bite much in the same way. The medicine-man takes tobacco juice into his mouth and sucks the wound with it, singing conjurations. From time to time he interrupts these operations to fan the patient with the branch of a tree called chini papaya or ahuirintsúma. This tree is much like the ordinary Carica papaya, but its branches are provided with large soft spines to which the Indians ascribe magical properties. When the patient is fanned or lightly beaten with this magic branch, the treatment is supposed to disperse the evil and to expel it from his body.

On the fifth day, independent of whether the patient has recovered or is about to die, the following ceremony takes place. Five round or somewhat oblate stones are looked for on the bank of the river, and arranged in a row from the house outwards, with a distance of about one foot between each stone. Now the medicine-man, either alone or with the assistance of another man, makes the patient slowly walk along these stones, passing from the house outwards and back. By this procedure, it is believed, he will be relieved of the consequences of the snake-bite. The cure is due to the magic virtues ascribed to the stones.

When a Canelos Indian has been bitten by a snake and the reptile escaped before the Indians were able to kill it, the following ceremony is performed. They take a stick of palo de balsa (Ochroma piscatoria) and paint it with red rings and spots all round so as

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

"When treating a patient the wishinu at intervals sucks the afflicted part of the patient and if successful in his efforts, which may last for many hours or even days, the spirit will enter the mouth of the wishinu, who then rushes out of the house, gagging and reaching while he spits or vomits the spirit out of his own body. After this has been done, with many gesticulations he orders the spirit to leave and not to enter the house again. He makes a complete circuit of the house, pausing at intervals to repeat the performance. As he [119] does this, he is helped out by the people within the house, all of whom are shouting for the spirit to go away. The treatment is always carried on at night and in the darkness, no lights being permitted in the house while the wishinu is operating. The spirit Minura is described as looking like a bearded warrior. Because of the difficulty of calling this spirit, it is necessary for the wishinu to take natima three or four times in order to give him extra power for the purpose.

When the wishinu desires to send Minura into some person in order to give him the sickness he goes alone to the river where the cashpa lives. The spirit is called out by blowing tobacco smoke toward the river and when Minura appears to the wishinu he sends him by means of the blowgun dart tsensac into the body of his intended victim. The same songs are sung as are used in calling him out from the body of a patient. Because of the difficulty before mentioned of calling out this powerful spirit, the wishinu charges exceptionally high rates for his treatment, sometimes as much as a gun. If the neophyte

shaman does not succeed in producing Minura's appearance during his training he will be unable to do so as a practitioner. The same holds true of all the other spirits."

13: Rivet--240 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 755

Besides exorcism is always accompanied by the administration of infusions of medicinal plants or secret remedies, and clever sorcerers risk undertaking a case only when it seems curable.

This is how the huishinu generally operates: in the obscurity of the night, he pretends to take a narcotic infusion (doubtless natema) which gives him a special power; he pretends to be possessed by a spirit (probably the iguanchi), he sings, repeats certain special phrases, makes certain gestures, speaks to an invisible being, and at the same time massages, kneads, bites or sucks, the affected part of the body. These manoeuvers last a long time, then suddenly, as if astonished himself with the result obtained, he cries out: "Here it is!" has the lights lit and shows the astonished family a spider, a frog, an ant, a chonta spike, or some other analogous object, saying: "Here is the cause of the illness your relative was suffering; he will get better now unless it is necessary to take out some other things from him in the following days"; then he names the author of the witchcraft (1). And there is war in prospect, for the sick Jíbaro or his children, if he succumbs, will not rest peacefully until the culprit has fallen under their blows.

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1. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op. cit., page 143.

"....Mihanda had a bad swelling on his left arm which, judging from its ugly appearance, must have been extremely painful. Napi [KS: medicine man] was called in for consultation. He examined it critically, nodding his head to and fro as if to say, why that is easily cured. He did not express himself one way or the other in words but stepped out of the house for a few moments, returning with a handful of leaves which I could not identify. These he chopped up carefully, as if making mint sauce, [177] and then put on one side. Once more he examined Mihanda's arm, rubbed it, squeezed it, punched it, and generally went through the usual movements of an experienced masseur. His patient put up with the rough handling stolidly and without flinching. The medicine-man's next move was to suck the wound with his mouth. For some minutes he continued doing this, pausing to take breath and then returning to his task with renewed vigour as if he were having quite a struggle to withdraw something from his patient's arm. Suddenly he stopped and sat back as if his efforts had been successful. 'Look,' he said to Mihanda, 'no wonder your arm was sore. Just see what I have taken out of it.' With which he took out of his mouth a fair sized pebble and handed it over for the astonished Mihanda to examine.

The treatment did not end here, for next the wizard took the minced-up leaves, smeared them carefully over the sore spot, then taking a stick from the fire, one end of which was so much red-hot charcoal, he proceeded to touch the patient's arm and so

cauterize the wound. The pain must have been excruciating but Mihanda did not utter a sound; he only made a wry face.

Napi's methods might sound a trifle crude to the modern doctor, but it shows, nevertheless, that he had a wonderful fund of knowledge. First of all, note the manipulation of the arm; secondly, the removal of undesirable matter by the simple process of suction. The trick played on the patient's credulity is exceptionally interesting, because it indicates that Napi vaguely realized certain fundamental laws of suggestion. The stone had not come out of Mihanda's arm but out of Napi's wallet which he had slung over his shoulder. I have seen beetles, sticks and all kinds of things taken out of wounds before now, so I was used to this part of the procedure. The final application of the herb and the cauterising of the wound showed that Napi [178] was not only a good conjurer, but one who understood the medicinal value of plants and the need of making the wound antiseptic. When we last saw Mihanda, thirty-six hours later, the swelling had subsided, the inflammation had gone, and the wound was healing over nicely."

25: Vigna--39 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 755

The Yhuanchi instructs, prepares and gives the necessary science to the "Witches" for the curing of illness and for malefic influences. In order to obtain these favors, the Jíbaro who is initiated in this life must fast rigorously, abstain from certain foods and drinks, and follow a certain strict regimen. The Yhuanchi orders and directs the bellicose reprisals of revenge on an enemy, although this may be merely an assumption as happens in the majority of cases.

25: Vigna--40 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 755

The power of the witch "Huisin" is the chief superstition among the Jibaros. The witch cures and heals illnesses through gestures, contortions, songs, and sucking of the afflicted part, after drinking a narcotic called "Natem." If the patient recovers, the witch, as fee for his intervention, will have the right to demand everything that stimulates his greed in the house of the sick man. Alas for those who deny him some of his pretensions! If the patient dies, the fault and cause of his death will be another sorcerer, who through envy, and from afar, practiced witchcraft on the patient and caused his death.

When the witchdoctor realizes that an illness is slight, and the patient easily lends himself to suggestion, he will suck the sick part and draw out of it a spider, worm, insect, arrow, or anything that may be blamed for the malady.

It cannot be excluded that from time to time preternatural forces do intervene in these cures. Certain instantaneous cures of illnesses in which suggestion could play no part, or in illnesses of the nervous system, cannot be explained in any other way.

26: Brüning-- 69 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755

The ordinary sicknesses are cured by the brujo. This is the general Peruvian name for quack and sorcerer. I have not been able to find out what the Aguaruna term was. In a tambo in Huaracayo I had an opportunity to watch a brujo at work. One evening we were assembled in the house of several rubber collectors when we heard a strange singing from a nearby Indian tambo. I was informed that this meant that a brujo was at work. Immediately I went over to witness the procedure. The tambo was completely dark. Nothing could be heard except the forceful voice of the brujo mixed with the whimpering of a woman. I was told that the woman had pains in the leg. The brujo sang with a loud voice. Next he smoked a strong cigar, inhaling the smoke. In between he sucked the aching part of the woman's leg. Then he gnashed his teeth, pretended that he had to vomit and spit, as if to give the impression that he had sucked some foreign matter from the leg. I can not tell how often he repeated this, nor how long the treatment lasted. The brujo acted so realistically, that I was sickened by it and had to leave the hut in order not to vomit myself.

26: Brüning--69 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 755, 787

The same brujo --his name was Kuja--had thought up a little stunt at our expense. Due to the rise of the Marañón we had to stay longer in Meléndez. Since our return was delayed, the brujo said that he had seen it in a vision thatall the travellers, the Indian crew included, had died of small-pox. Since our crew came from Huaracayo, the inhabitants of this settlement were in mourning and had already started to prepare for a mortuary feast. Upon our return we found a great multitude of Indians to receive us. The brujo, whose calculations we had upset, was slightly embarrassed, kept himself aloof, faintly smiling from time to time.

28: Tessman--358 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

The healing sorcerer, in a cloud of tobacco fumes, sucks the spine out, chews it up and throws it away so that the spine may not return to its owner. The healing sorcerer does not use this spine for magic purposes, since every sorcerer has his own brand of spines.

28: Tessman--358-359 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 755

Excellent material concerning the healing practices is once more given by Karsten (The Religion, etc. pp. 323 ff.). The treatments are administered in the darkness, after the sorcerer has prepared himself by fasting, the drinking of tobacco juice and of kaapí. [359] The sorcerer has put on black body paint. He conjures up the spirits that could have sent off the spines. He does much rattling with a bundle of certain leaves. He returns to the owner the spine which he has sucked out. The spine may also appear in the shape of a worm, etc. It is the task of the healing sorcerer to find out who the attacker is. In a state of trance he "sees" the attacker. He gives the name of the presumed attacker to the family of the patient. If the patient dies, and should additional victims perish, that is to say, in serious cases, blood revenge is the consequence.

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

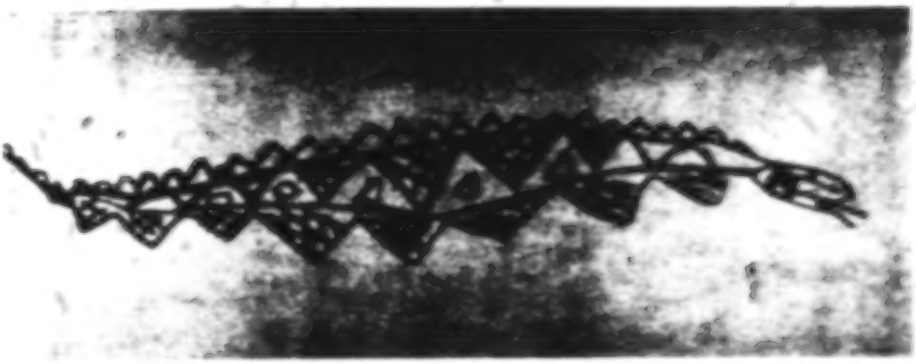
icantly different from the essentially egalitarian one between ordinary *amigri*.

The essence of the shaman's power, the *tsentsak*, or magical darts, have an almost infinite variety of forms, and are viewed as invisible spirit helpers which normally reside in the shaman's body. To bewitch, the shaman sends one of these invisible darts into the body of his victim. To cure, he calls upon these spirit aides to suck the intruding magical dart out of the patient's body.

The power of the magical darts is believed to vary according to their type and according to the power of the shaman supplying them. The most powerful, and therefore most valued, supernatural darts are considered to be those belonging to the shamans of the Quichua (Quechua)-speaking Canelos tribe, which extends northward from the Jívaro to the headwaters of the Río Napo. The Canelos tribe has long been in contact with missionaries, and Canelos shamans are distinguished by the Jívaro with a separate term, *panü*, derived from *banco*, the Spanish word for the "bank" part of a placer-mining apparatus, which retains the gold-bearing gravels. Canelos shamans call themselves "banks" because they are believed to be similar rich repositories, but of magical power instead of mineral wealth.

The Canelos *panü* are said to possess "white man's" *tsentsak*, which the Jívaro and Achuara shamans consider superior to their own traditional *huar*, or Indian, *tsentsak*. By means of "white man's" magical darts, the Canelos shamans are able to perform feats not possible for Jívaro and Achuara shamans. For example, they are the only shamans in the region who are able to become possessed with the souls of the dead and to act as oral mediums. They also, it is believed, can send demons to possess victims and thereby manipulate their behavior. Furthermore, these Canelos sha-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



276
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23. Snake *tsentsak* seen in a patient's body by a shaman under the influence of *natemá*. Drawn by the shaman subsequent to the experience (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

24. Halo or "crown" over the head of a shaman under the influence of *natemá* as seen by another shaman who has also taken the drug. Drawn subsequent to the experience. (Río Tutanangoza, 1964).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

753 such as whooping cough, measles, colds, and some mild
164 diarrheas. The normal waking life, as noted before, is simply "a lie," or illusion, while the true forces that determine
181 daily events are supernatural and can only be seen and
771 manipulated with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. A reality
756 view of this kind creates a demand for shamans, part-time
[276] specialists who can cross over into the "real" world at will to help others to deal with the forces that influence and even determine the events of the waking life.

• 755 Jívaro shamans (*uwišin*) are of two types: bewitchers
276 and curers. Both kinds take a hallucinogenic drink, whose
787 Jívaro name is *natemä*, in order to enter the supernatural world. This brew, commonly called *yagé* or *yajé* in Colombia,
[824] *ayahuasca* (Inca: "vine of the dead") in Ecuador and Peru,
[756] and *caapi* in Brazil is prepared from segments of a species of the vine *Banisteriopsis*, a genus belonging to the Malpighiaceae. The Jívaro boil it with the leaves of a similar vine, *yahi*, which probably is also a species of *Banisteriopsis*, to produce the cooled *natemä* tea that contains the powerful hallucinogenic alkaloids harmaline, harmine, d-tetrahydroharmine, and quite possibly N,N-dimethyltryptamine (DMT) (see Plate 22).[18] These compounds have chemical structures and effects similar, but not identical to, LSD, mescaline of the peyote cactus, and psilocybin of the psychotropic Mexican mushroom.

Shamans prefer to use *natemä* rather than *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) for going into trances, because the potency of the latter is too great for the shaman to be able to function ritually in singing, sucking, and the accompanying social interaction. Also, since the shaman must go into trances with
276 frequency, he does not like to use *Datura* for that purpose
755 because the strength of the plant is such that its repeated
787 use is believed to lead to insanity. As an illustration of this
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danger, one informant said, "My father told me that a long time ago a man took *maikua* all the time. As a result, he lost his mind and would go walking in the forest to speak with the spirits." For these reasons, the shaman tends to use the less strong *Banisteriopsis* drink *natemä*. In *arutam* seeking, however, a person in a trance does not need to perform ritual or interact with others, and therefore *Datura*, precisely because of its strength to produce visions, is the drug of choice.

The use of the hallucinogenic *natemä* drink among the Jívaro makes it possible for almost anyone to achieve the trance state essential for the practice of shamanism. Given the presence of the drug and the felt need to contact the "real," or supernatural, world, it is not surprising that approximately one out of every four Jívaro men is a shaman. Any adult, male or female, who desires to become such a practitioner, simply presents a gift to an already practicing shaman, who administers the *Banisteriopsis* drink and gives some of his own supernatural power—in the form of spirit helpers, or *tsentsak*—to the apprentice. These spirit helpers, or "darts," are the main supernatural forces believed to cause illness and death in daily life. To the non-shaman they are normally invisible, and even shamans can perceive them only under the influence of *natemä*.

The origin of knowledge about the use of *tsentsak* is attributed to Tsuŋi, the mythological first shaman who is believed still to be alive today living underwater in a house whose walls are formed, like palm staves, by upright anacondas, and where he sits, using a turtle as a stool. He is described as a white-skinned man with long hair, but he also seems capable of transforming himself into the anaconda. From time to time he is reputed to supply particular shamans with special quartz crystal *tsentsak* (*namurä*) which are

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to fulfill this desire, this means he will become a "bewitching" shaman (*wawek*, or *yahaučī uwišin*). If, on the other hand, the novice can control his impulse and reswallow this first *tsentsak*, he will become a curing shaman (*peyer uwišin*). This will only be possible if the shaman who gave him his *tsentsak* is a curer himself.

If the shaman who gave the *tsentsak* to the new man was primarily a bewitcher, rather than a curer, the novice likewise will become a bewitcher. This is because a bewitcher's magical darts have such a desire to kill that their new owner will be compelled to adopt their attitude. One informant said that the urge to kill felt by bewitching shamans came to them with a strength and frequency similar to that of hunger.

Only if the novice shaman is able to abstain from sexual intercourse for five months, will he have the power to kill a man (if he is a bewitcher) or cure a victim (if he is a curer). A full year's abstinence is considered necessary to become a really effective bewitcher or curer.

During the period of sexual abstinence, the new shaman collects all kinds of insects, plants, and other objects, which he now has the power to convert into *tsentsak*. Almost any object, including living insects and worms, can become a *tsentsak* if it is small enough to be swallowed by a shaman. Certain small spiders become *tunčī*, a special kind of *tsentsak*. Different types of *tsentsak* are used to cause different kinds and degrees of illness, and the greater the variety of these objects that a shaman has in his body, the greater is his ability.

According to Jívaro concepts, each *tsentsak* has a natural and a supernatural aspect. The magical dart's natural aspect is that of an ordinary material object as seen without drinking the drug *natemä*. But the supernatural and "true" aspect of

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services of a curing shaman. Nonetheless, shamans and laymen alike steadfastly claimed, in interviews, that illness invariably follows the bewitchment, although the degree of illness can vary considerably. 754

A special kind of spirit helper, called a *pasuk*, can aid the bewitching shaman by remaining near the victim in the guise of an insect or animal of the forest after the bewitcher has left. This spirit helper has his own objects to shoot into the victim should a curing shaman succeed in sucking out the *tsentsak* sent earlier by the bewitcher who is the owner of the *pasuk*. 754 776 825 [755]

In addition, the bewitcher can enlist the aid of a *wakani* ("soul," or "spirit") bird. Shamans have the power to call these birds and use them as spirit helpers in bewitching victims. The shaman blows on the *wakani* birds and then sends them to the house of the victim to fly around and around the man, frightening him. This is believed to cause fever and insanity, with death resulting shortly thereafter. [828]

After he returns home from bewitching, the shaman may send a *wakani* bird to perch near the house of the victim. Then, if a curing shaman sucks out the intruding object, the bewitching shaman sends the *wakani* bird more *tsentsak* to throw from its beak into the victim. By continually resupplying the *wakani* bird with new *tsentsak*, the sorcerer makes it impossible for the curer to rid his patient permanently of the magical darts. [755]

While the *wakani* birds are supernatural servants available to anyone who wishes to use them, the *pasuk*, chief among the spirit helpers, serves only a single shaman. Likewise a shaman possesses only one *pasuk*. The *pasuk*, being specialized for the service of bewitching, has a protective shield to guard it from counterattack by the curing shaman. 754 776

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weakened condition, of being seriously bewitched by other shamans. Therefore, each day, he drinks large quantities of *natemä*, tobacco water, and the extract of yet another drug, *piripiri*. He also rests on his bed at home to conserve his strength, but tries to conceal his weakened condition from his enemies. When he purchases a new supply of *tsentsak*, he can safely cut down his consumption of these other substances.

The degree of illness produced in a witchcraft victim is a function of both the force with which the *tsentsak* is shot into the body, and also of the character of the magical dart itself. If a *tsentsak* is shot all the way through the body of a victim, then "there is nothing for a curing shaman to suck out," and the patient dies. If the magical dart lodges within the body, however, it is theoretically possible to cure the victim by sucking. But in actual practice, the sucking is not always considered successful.

The work of the curing shaman is complementary to that of a bewitcher. When a curing shaman is called in to treat a patient, his first task is to see if the illness is due to witchcraft. The usual diagnosis and treatment begin with the curing shaman drinking *natemä*, tobacco water, and *piripiri* in the late afternoon and early evening. These drugs permit him to see into the body of the patient as though it were glass. If the illness is due to sorcery, the curing shaman will see the intruding object within the patient's body clearly enough to determine whether or not he can cure the sickness (see Plate 23).

A shaman sucks magical darts from a patient's body only at night, and in a dark area of the house, for it is only in the dark that he can perceive the drug-induced visions that are the supernatural reality. With the setting of the sun,

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he alerts his *tsentsak* by whistling the tune of the curing song; after about a quarter of an hour, he starts singing. A shaman's curing songs tend to be self-encouraging exhortations such as the following:

I, I, I, I, I,
I, I, I, I.
I am like Tsunji.[14]
I am like Tsunji.
When I drink *natemä*
All my body becomes cold.
And I easily suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds,
And thus I have power.
I drank *natemä*.
I drank enough to have power.
All my body is cold.
Therefore I have power to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

There is a very large body of water.
Thus I am like a great body of water.
I have a crown, but of gold,
Brilliant.[15]
How beautiful it appears
When I drink *natemä*.
Therefore it is easy to suck out the *tsentsak*.
I, I, I, I.

I am always above the clouds.
Therefore I cure easily.
I have the *tsentsak* of *natemä*.
I am seated, but I am very cold
And there are many breezes.[16]
I, I, I, I.

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My *tsentsak* are like birds
And the wings and bodies are dreams.
With these I am now ready.
My *tsentsak* are sitting all over me[17]
And as I become cold
I shall have power.
I can easily suck out *tsentsak.*
I, I, I, I.

I am like some *panü* of the Río Napo.[18]
Therefore I have power to suck out *tsentsak.*
I, I, I, I.

Wait, wait a moment.
Now I am going to become dizzy.
I will see when I am intoxicated.

When he is ready to suck, the shaman regurgitates two *tsentsak* into the sides of his throat and mouth. These must be identical to the one he has seen in the patient's body. He holds one of these in the front of the mouth and the other in the rear. They are expected to catch the supernatural aspect of the magical dart that the shaman sucks out of the patient's body. The *tsentsak* nearest the shaman's lips is supposed to incorporate the sucked-out *tsentsak* essence within itself. If, however, this supernatural essence should get past it, the second magical dart in the mouth blocks the throat so that the intruder cannot enter the interior of the shaman's body. If the curer's two *tsentsak* were to fail to catch the supernatural essence of the *tsentsak,* it would pass down into the shaman's stomach and kill him. Trapped thus within the mouth, this essence is shortly caught by, and incorporated into, the material substance of one of the curing shaman's *tsentsak.* He then "vomits" out this object and dis-

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755 778 plays it to the patient and his family, saying, "Now I have sucked it out. Here it is."

The non-shamans think that the material object itself is what has been sucked out, and the shaman does not disillusion them. At the same time, he is not lying, because he knows that the only important thing about a *tsentsak* is its supernatural aspect, or essence, which he sincerely believes he has removed from the patient's body. To explain to the layman that he already had these objects in his mouth would serve no fruitful purpose and would prevent him from displaying such an object as proof that he had cured the patient. Without incontrovertible evidence, he would not be able to convince the patient and his family that he had effected the cure and must be paid.

The ability of the shaman to suck depends largely upon the quantity and strength of his own *tsentsak*, of which 755 778 he may have hundreds. His magical darts assume their supernatural aspect as spirit helpers when he is under the 276 influence of *natemä*, and he sees them as a variety of zoomorphic forms hovering over him, perching on his 787 shoulders, sticking out of his skin, and helping to suck the 776 patient's body. He must drink tobacco water every few hours to "keep them fed" so that they will not leave him. He will also appear, to another shaman under the influence of *natemä*, to have a gold, red and greenish "crown" above his head (see Plate 24).

The curing shaman must also deal with any *pasuk* that may be in the patient's vicinity for the purpose of casting more darts. He drinks additional amounts of *natemä* in order to see them and engages in *tsentsak* duels with them if they are present. While the *pasuk* is enclosed in iron armor, the shaman himself has his own armor, composed of his many *tsentsak*. As long as he is under the influence of

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natemă, these magical darts cover his body as a protective shield, and are on the lookout for any enemy *tsentsak* headed towards their master. When these *tsentsak* see such a missile coming, they immediately close up together at the point where the enemy dart is attempting to penetrate, and thereby repel it.

If the curer finds *tsentsak* entering the body of his patient after he has killed the *pasuk*, he suspects the presence of a *wakanī* bird. The shaman drinks *maikua* (*Datura*), since it is more powerful than *natemă*, as well as tobacco water, and silently sneaks into the forest to hunt and kill the bird with *tsentsak*. When he succeeds, the curer returns to the patient's home, blows all over the house to get rid of the "atmosphere" created by the numerous *tsentsak* sent by the bird, and completes his sucking of the patient. Even after all the *tsentsak* are extracted, the shaman may remain another night at the house to suck out any "dirtiness" (*paburi*) still inside. In the cures which I have witnessed, this sucking is a most noisy process, accompanied by deep, but dry, vomiting.

After sucking out a *tsentsak*, the shaman puts it into a little container. He does not swallow it, because it is not his own magical dart and would therefore kill him. Later, he throws the *tsentsak* into the air, and it flies back to the shaman who sent it originally into the patient. *Tsentsak* also fly back to a shaman at the death of a former apprentice who had originally received them from him. Besides receiving "old" magical darts unexpectedly in this manner, the shaman may have *tsentsak* thrown at him by a bewitcher. Accordingly, shamans constantly drink tobacco water at all hours of the day and night. Although the tobacco water is not truly hallucinogenic, it produces a narcotized state, which is believed necessary to keep one's *tsentsak* ready to repel any other magical

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darts. A shaman does not even dare go for a walk without taking along the green tobacco leaves with which he prepares the juice that keeps his spirit helpers alert. Less frequently, but regularly, he must drink *natemá* for the same purpose and to keep in touch with the supernatural reality.

While curing under the influence of *natemá*, the curing shaman "sees" the shaman who bewitched his patient. Generally, he can recognize the person, unless it is a shaman who lives far away or in another tribe. The patient's family knows this, and demands to be told the identity of the bewitcher, particularly if the sick person dies. At one curing session I attended, the shaman could not identify the person he had seen in his vision. The brother of the dead man then accused the shaman himself of being responsible. Under such pressure, there is a strong tendency for the curing shaman to attribute each case to a particular bewitcher.

Shamans gradually become weak and must purchase *tsentsak* again and again. Curers tend to become weak in power especially after curing a patient bewitched by a shaman who has recently received a new supply of magical darts. Thus the most powerful shamans are those who can repeatedly purchase new supplies of *tsentsak* from other shamans, particularly *panú* (see pp. 119–20).

Shamans can take back *tsentsak* from others to whom they have previously given them. To accomplish this, the shaman drinks *natemá*, and, using his *tsentsak*, creates a "bridge" in the form of a rainbow between himself and the other shaman. Then he shoots a *tsentsak* along this rainbow. This strikes the ground beside the other shaman with an explosion and flash likened to a lightning bolt. The purpose of this is to surprise the other shaman so that he temporarily forgets to maintain his guard over his magical darts, thus permitting the first shaman to suck them back along the rain-

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro